788
● 796

/For information on the various ceremonies and rituals associated with purification of the participants of a burial, see categories 783, 764, and 765./

Since the shapes are very simple, a special
/162 cont./

463 apprenticeship with a master is not absolutely necessary; Santos
323 Kiskue, at any rate, began making pots by himself after an
[467] accident that left him with a stiff left wrist. He uses the unmixed clay that stands near his house. Out of this, constantly moistening it, he shapes on a /163/ board lying on the ground an even, round "clay sausage," which he then presses flat with the palm of his hand. He builds up his pots out of this in spirals. They are put with their lower part on a shallow clay bowl, so that he can turn them easily in closing up the junctures (Ills. 184 to 186 /see pp. 282-283/). He lets the freshly made pots dry for about a week under a roof, then he takes them to a place where there is sufficient dry wood. Here he places the pots very close together, stacks wood and twigs over them, and lets them burn for about two hours. They are then ready for use.

i) Candlemaking

388 At the three annual church festivals a large number of
● [796] candles (mbéla; Spanish: vela) are used to decorate the church.
[462] They are in part purchased, but largely homemade. Everyone is
[824] familiar with the process of manufacture, but for the festivals it is men's work. The wax is obtained from the wood laurel (Myrica pubescens Willd), whose small fruits, measuring about five to eight millimeters in diameter, are harvested in great masses in April and May. For this purpose the twigs are struck off and stripped of the fruits over the round berry net that is put in the opening of a large fiber bag. After they are dried, they are poured into a bag, boiled, and squeezed. The wax, caught in a vessel and dried, was formerly an important commercial product in the trade with the whites. In making the candles, wax is poured over the wicks until the proper thickness is obtained.

k) Fireworks

389 No celebration and no church festival is possible without
[796] setting off the greatest possible number of fireworks. The fire-
[541] crackers required for this are made by the men themselves.
[462]

623 293 /175 cont./ handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.

In former years, on the first day of the new year, a ceremony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 666 [641] The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village, that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only reelection, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

[787] [776] [556] [896]

/199 cont./

764 result of the very hard stamping of the earth, the burial place
184 does not stand out from the surrounding terrain either because of a regular grave mound or because of any kind of slight elevation. A stone 30-60 centimeters in size serves as a marker, which is set either at the head or the foot end of the grave.

769 Whereas the deceased is given no accessories at all in the
[764] grave to take with him and no offerings are given this is done in
[796] the following year on December 8, the festival of the Immaculada. On this day, and each year recurrently, the relatives offer the spirits (áhimos) of their deceased, whom they think of as wind or shadows living in their former houses, their favorite foods: meat, yuca, potatoes, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church, and a candle is lighted and placed beside them. Small children do not get food, but flowers as gifts.

/200/

e) The Course of a Day

461 Men and women perform the tasks appropriate to them.
462 Those of the women are the least varied, since meals must be prepared daily and wood and water must be fetched regularly for cooking or for maintaining the nightly fire. Moreover, the work of the woman is more bound up with the house, whereas the men have shorter or longer pauses in their work and during these they visit neighbors, help them mill sugar cane, and drink chicha.
461 Steadiness is not the strong point of the Paez to begin with. It is but seldom that tasks are completed in an uninterrupted process; rather, we almost always found that on the following day the men were busy with something different from the previous day. To be sure, field work always requires long pauses between the clearing, the drying of the felled trees, burning, erecting the fences out of the remaining wood, and sowing. But even within each of these stages of work they generally take their time. True, there are said to be persons who can work for several weeks, up to a month, uninterruptedly in the clearing of a field, but I found again and again that after two to four days of work, a day of rest is inserted.

/207 cont./

g) Festivals and Celebrations

796 The public community festivals of the Paez which are celebrated and observed in the course of the year nowadays take place only on religious occasions, on the three church holidays Semana Santa (Easter week), San Juán (June 24), and Immaculada (December 8). For the Paez these are primarily occasions for joyful gatherings, for setting off fireworks, and for eating and drinking richly and abundantly. It is not certain whether in former times there were any indigenous festivals in connection with sowing and harvesting and the natural cycle of the year, and to me this does not even seem probable. There is nothing in the myths and surviving indigenous customs of the Paez that points to an agricultural rhythm of life; rather, religion, mythology, and ceremonial practice are remnants of a hunting and shamanistic attitude of mind. The absence of a ceremonial life connected with sowing and harvesting becomes understandable in view of the fact that it is possible to do this at any time of the year; there is no correlation between a seasonal and growth rhythm and a corresponding natural festival cycle.

796 221 241

796 The gobernador at the time is in charge of organizing the community festivals. The actual running of the festival, which includes the entertainment of the entire village and the serving of the necessary food and drink, is the duty of the two "fiesteros" and their helpers, the "albaceros" and "mayordomos." It is an honor to be fiestero, but also an expensive matter, for this office costs each one two head of cattle, the food for the village on the festival day, and, in addition, the liberal distribution of chicha and brandy. And, to be sure, not only the chicha that is drunk by the village on the day of the festival, but also that which the helpers drink when they make the chicha before the festival. Even if a fiestero hires himself out to the whites months before the festival /208/ in order to earn money, he often remains in debt for years afterward as a result of the obligations arising from the festival. In spite of the costliness of this office, the fiesteros -- so I was

[554] [426]

/208 cont./

●796 assured -- always volunteer. Besides, no one can be forced. But this is not necessary, since there are always more applicants for this position than are needed. On account of the very high costs, however, no one can be fiestero more than three times in all. This number is not the absolute highest, but represents the normal maximum given the financial circumstances of the Paez. One may be albacero more often, however -- up to ten times, I was told -- since this person does not donate any cattle for feeding the village, but merely a pig for the meal on the eve of the festival, and bears the cost of the festival accessories other than the food supply (decorations for the church, candles, fireworks, and the "crazy cow"). The mayordomos only join in with contributions of money to pay the priest.

The fiestero and albacero themselves do not work, but merely serve the guests. For the preparation of the food they have [476] their helpers, men and women, who voluntarily help and at the [273] end of the festival are specially entertained. Above all, carrying the sugar cane from the fields for the large amounts of chicha to be prepared is hard work, for every fiestero wants to prepare the most chicha, since a festival is good only if one can be drunk for a long time.

On the principal festive day of the three annual festivals, which are essentially the same in arrangement, the women start to prepare the feast very early in the festival house. The men also arrive, chicha is drunk heartily, and the musicians start play- [541] ing early in the morning. No longer entirely sober, everybody assembles for the Mass, which is accompanied by the setting off of fireworks by those who have remained in front of the church door. [788] Then, led by the music, played incessantly, a procession follows, a parade around the church with the flower-decorated image of the Lord and those of the saints.

[431] In the afternoon, the fiesteros, along with the cabildo and [793] a large number of sightseers, set out for the church, in order to [794] give the priest a present of foodstuffs, meat, bananas, vegetables, and eggs in gratitude for the Mass that was held. After that the two fiesteros, along with their albaceros and the music, walk

/208 cont./

796 [794] through the village and meet in front of the festival house for a ceremonial salutation. They exchange brandy, chicha, and candles, each giving the other exactly the same thing /209/ that [537] [431] he himself receives. After they have mutually complimented each other sufficiently, they turn to the bystanders, make a short speech to the effect that everyone should enjoy himself, and distribute everything to the people standing around. Soon afterward 796 532 all gather on the plaza in front of the church, where now the "vacaloca" is lighted. This "crazy cow" consists of a number of flexible twigs bent into semicircles and held together on the underside by cross-rods; they are fastened one behind the other, which gives the structure the shape of a half-cylinder. This is covered with a cowhide and forms the body of the crazy cow. On one end is fastened a cow's skull modeled out of bast and newspaper to look as real as possible, and on the other end, a stick wound with agave fiber as a tail. A strong young man takes the frame of the cow on his shoulders and it is then lit at the specially prepared places on horns and tail. While music is played, the young man goes across the square in a zigzag, during which the young people try to tease the cow, while it, in turn, tries to get the bold ones on its horns. The meaning of this game is not clear to the Paez. It looks as though it were a poorly understood imitation of a popular bullfight.

796 Everybody now returns to the festival houses, where the musicians have taken their places on a bench on the narrow end of the festival house. The women squat in one corner in a large [273] group with their children. And then begins the feast, at which everyone, men, women, and children, may eat and drink as much as he is able, with the exception of the fiesteros, who have the sole right to pour the chicha and brandy and do not themselves become intoxicated, in order to be able to carry out their duty well. The festival guests do not go home for the duration of the festival, but eat, drink, and sleep in the festival houses, stretched out full length on the floor wherever they happen to be. The festival goes on with more or less intensity -- as far as eating and drinking are concerned -- throughout the entire week; at any rate, no one works, but at most goes from house to house "pasnyándo."

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

/285 cont./

101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
36 Yaguivães, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166-173] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

/288 cont./
583 in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 Religion.--The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism,
177 but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal
●[796] fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 Calderas.--Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the
131 Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge
133 that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiyú,
631 actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its
[423] left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh,
[161] rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping
[311] lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

/186 cont./

with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of bahareque.

The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements, is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20 meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room intended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compartment for menstruating women (du yate lĕchukue), although as a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque, sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed walls.

The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank door at the entrance; the enormous sala, fiuhne wala, is 13 meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (ŭkukuat), the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil, crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners; the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
•796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
[262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work,"

/191 cont./

829 while the others contend for their land and reduce the extent
665 of the parcialidad. This is what the people of Avirama, Togoima, and Lame have done. Nowadays, their relations appear to be cordial, for their political differences, at least, seem to have been obliterated.

157 The Paez are extremely pugnacious, aggressive by nature; they are easily aroused and only with difficulty erase rancor from their minds. Their psychological characteristic seems
[648] to be the explosion. History gives many authentic proofs.
[669] Adverse to the Spanish yoke, destroyers of the colonial settlements, /192/ in the times of the republic they have served as instruments for blind ambitions and political revenge, and nearly all the civil uprisings have been nourished with their blood. They adjust easily to the military, guerilla, barbarian
[579] spirit. The riots that have taken place in the present century are memorable: La Quintinada, La Collada, and the 28th of January, the first of which took place in 1916, the second in 1932, and the third in 1950, out of motives of racism, religion, and political rancor, respectively.

Persistence in vengeance, hair-raising and fearsome crimes, and the spilling of blood characterize many aspects of the social and political life of these Indians.

VI

Fiesteros, Albaceros, and Mayordomos

●796 About three months before the celebration of the fiesta,
623 the cabildo begins to select the names of the fiesteros /fiesta leaders/ for the following year. When the candidates have been chosen, the entire cabildo goes to their home, where after much dilatory chatting they announce the authorized choice. The offer is rejected at first, but eventually the great honor is accepted.

4:Bernal Villa--21 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/194/

796 Both the fiestero and the albacero have laborers whom they select themselves. The fiestero has the following: three for the

[133]
[788]

distribution of food; three chicha-makers, two men and one woman; two millers of sugar cane; one fireworks-maker and two women as
796 cooks. The transporting of the sugar cane is done by volunteers
465 who help out daily in exchange for drink. The albacero has the same laborers, and although he does not kill a beef to reward them, he does sacrifice a pig to this end, especially for the fireworks-maker, with all the honors of the table and the demands of etiquette.

[p. 22 skipped in paginating - Analyst]

[p.22 skipped in paginating-Analyst]

/194 cont./

796 The albacero and fiestero with their respective wives do not work; their task is to look after the people.

796 554 Every religious fiesta has a chief fiestero and a secondary one, with their respective retinues of albaceros, mayordomos, and laborers. There is no difference of rank between the two. Both spend the same amount of money and perform the same tasks. Only the chief one performs them first; he thus has [578] primacy. Nevertheless, a certain rivalry seems to exist between the two. According to the extravagance and hospitality, there are comments as to whether the fiesta of one was better than that of the other. Prestige is also involved here. Thus, of the two fiesteros who gave the fiesta of San Juan this current year, that of the second one was said to be better, since he did not get drunk, attended all the religious ceremonies, and [273] looked after people very well. Only the last of these remarks is valid, because the abundance of food, chicha, and aguardiente was fundamental; continuous drunkenness is the mark of a good fiesta. On the other hand, he knew how to look after the people because he had already been fiestero at another time.

796 Three weeks before the festive day activity begins in the households of the fiesteros: milling the sugar cane, the distillation of the aguardiente, entertainment of visitors, and the making of candles and firecrackers.

Two weeks before the Mass, the fiesteros, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, go to take over the pueblo house, with their wives, cooks, chicha-makers, and food distributors.

All the public entertaining will be done in the spacious sala. The church banner will wave in front of the house.

4:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling. Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill, it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one hands over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, which is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly, yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha, it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew

/195 cont./

coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is general among men and women, old people and children. There is no household without chicha for any length of time. And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for weddings.

The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in the ground up to their rims.

The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent. Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in the following way:

A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

4:Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

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IX

The Wax Comes from the Woodlands

•796 Before the fiestero goes to stay in the pueblo, the laborers make the candles and distill the aguardiente while the fireworks-maker produces the firecrackers and rockets.

388 824 The candles are made with the wax of the wild laurel (1)

1. Myrica pubescens Willd.

recently extracted from seeds gathered months earlier from the bushes in the woodlands. Laurel, of course, is a shrub with lanceolate leaves, which grows wild in the clearings after the harvest. During the months of April and May the branches are heavy with lead-colored and tiny seeds very similar in form to the fruit of the coffee tree. They are a favorite food of the wild pigeons, and for this reason, while they are ripening, the owner, or preferably his children, constantly frightens them [756] away. This is a reinforcement of the magic protection supplied [789] by the medicine man at the suggestion of the owner of the woodland. He has performed the exorcism to frighten away the unwanted birds: he has loaded his shotgun with chayuts (2) and

2. Escrofulareacea.

shot at the pigeons. They will not return.

[415] The seeds are gathered in fique bags. Ten workers gather approximately one arroba in one day. /199/ For the period of one month the seeds will be left to dry, scattered in a corner of the house, so that the wax will come out white and not green as would happen if this were not done.

388 To extract the wax, the seeds are packed into small sacks or bags, boiled, and pressed at once. The wax falls with the hot water into a round container; on the following day, the water that remains at the bottom of the container is removed, and the wax is left to solidify further.

/199 cont./

389 Explosive charges are made in the following way. The powder is packed into small sheepskin cartridges; these cartridges /200/ are tied tightly with maguey thread. Then they are pierced in such a way that the powder can come in contact with the correspondent fuse. They make with these explosive charges:

Firecrackers: a charge attached to a short stick.

Skyrockets: reed tubes full of powder, with one explosive charge, attached to a long pole. They rise to considerable heights and end with an explosion.

Stingers: firecrackers made of three charges attached to a stick.

Castle: a structure resembling half an ellipse, made of flexible rods to which the explosive charges are attached.

[796] The fireworks-maker is selected especially by the fiestero or the albacero, and at the time of the fiesta he distributes the firecrackers personally among the elders with a great show [465] of deference. The albacero must kill a pig or a sheep to reward him for his work.

[461] The making of these objects is slow: a month or even more, not because it is complicated, but because steady work on it is tiresome.

389 During the making of these firecrackers, with the relative 787 tranquility that this implies, a man may come to know of a 75 destiny which he possibly had not suspected: becoming a medicine man. While sitting at his work he may feel the "signs" that herald his future activity. This was the case with a medicine man of Calderas. As a young man he knew nothing about remedies or "signs." But as he was making firecrackers, he felt the signs. He had five children at the time. After that he learned what the good and the bad remedies were from another famous medicine man. He put his knowledge into practice, cured a sick man, and devoted himself to being a medicine man. The signs, they say, are sent by God.

4:Bernal Villa--33 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/202 cont./
415 men first and then women, and ending with the children of both
554 sexes. No one is left without a share.
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XII

The Cleaning of the Church

346 The so-called church of Calderas, a masonry structure, is a dilapidated old building, long and tall, with a two-slope thatched roof and a hemispherical bell tower supported by four beams set into the ridgepiece. Only the front of four columns with cornices and semicircular arches which form an antechamber lends the whole a certain charm.

346 What is called the cleaning of the church is the removal
794 of a few weeds that grow in the pavement in front of it and
796 clearing a line that encircles a small plaza. The task is minimal, but it is always performed. The act is symbolic more than anything else; what matters is the meeting of the fiesteros with their respective albaceros and laborers; an occasion for taking care of the albacero, an opportunity for merriment, talk, jokes, and even games.

Some 12 days before the fiesta and on a Thursday, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, the fiestero leaves his house and goes to occupy one in the pueblo. He takes /203/ along the bull that will be sacrificed on the following day. Two days later, that is to say, on Monday, the cleaning of the church is carried out. On rare occasions [202] it is done on a Wednesday. The ringing of bells announces the invitation and later tells the people that the cleaning is over, whereupon they drink the two calabashes of chicha which each fiestero has brought; the firecrackers are set off; "the albacero has earned a meal," they say, and deserves the honors of the table. The fiestero will take care of him with

/203 cont./
346 meat and "mute," as well as more chicha and aguardiente.
794 After lunch the albacero goes home. There he waits for the
796 fiestero, who in the afternoon will bring him more chicha,
more aguardiente, and more food.
796 A week after the cleaning of the church, the priest will
793 come to officiate at the religious ceremonies.

XIII

Instruments, Music and Dance

533 The musical groups of the Calderas people, true chirimías /a kind of orchestra/, are deservedly famous both for the number of the musicians and for the beauty of their interpretations. Many are soft and delicate, most of them sad tunes,
534 but there are joyous ones as well. The musical instruments are few.

The flute (kuvi), made of a reed some 70 centimeters long; it has seven holes made by burning: the one in the upper part which serves for blowing, and 35 centimeters farther down are found the others, which correspond to the fingers of the hands, at intervals of three centimeters apart. They distinguish two types of flutes: those that produce melodic sounds, kuvinéhuish (major flute) and those that produce low tones, kuvinuch (minor flute).

[281] The bass drum (kut), made with the skin from sheep, calf, goat, or deer, the hair of which has been removed by fermentation underground.

The tambourine, around the edge of which is put several pairs of movable circular pieces of tin which produce a rhythmic sound.

The side drum or snare drum and the triangle to mark the rhythm.

/205 cont./

535 keeps her head low, with her eyes on the ground, attentive to the musical notes which she seems to interpret with her movements. One foot forward, then one back, in swift alternation; she suddenly stands in her partner's way, then does an about-face. She keeps her arms motionless against her abdomen.

The man, on his part, dances with his forehead held high, his arms motionless against his thighs, his face joyous. From time to time he shouts: "Viva the Conservative Party!" or "Viva el Cauca!"

It is customary for the fiestero and the albacero to dance with each other's wives, after their respective "care."

535 It is the rule for the newlyweds and the sponsors to open
608 the dancing at weddings. In the midst of the dancing and at
585 different times the bride and groom kneel before their sponsors /padrinos/ to receive /recitarles/ the blessing, the bride before the padrino and the groom before the madrina. The latter
[576] bless them and give them their hands to help them rise. After the dance of the newlyweds and the sponsors, the others present may dance, and in the midst of the dancing they, too, greet one another /206/ by placing the right hand over the other person's left shoulder and pressing it.

535 Although one colonial writer speaks of specific dances, nowadays they are only a memory; it is said that there is performed in Avirama the dance of the little bird (vicha ku), danced by young girls at dawn. Calderas informants say that it is very ugly and for this reason they do not dance it. It may possibly correspond to the Itza-ko noted by Pittier de Fábrega.

XIV

The Great Day

796 Before dawn raises its pale face above the black rims of the eastern peaks, the women have already left their hard beds

/206 cont./

796 of cowhide and are busy cooking the food, hastily reviving the kitchen fire. Meanwhile, the men talk and laugh hilariously.

[264] The house of the fiestero is bustling with activity. At six
[262] o'clock in the morning men and women have breakfasted on "mute," cabbage, bananas, yuca, and meat. Then, the women put on to cook, in a copper pan with a diameter of one meter and 50 centimeters, the mute for the laborers' lunch and for feasting the albacero after vespers. Next to this vessel they place another one of clay, slightly smaller, full of shelled maize with ashes. About four arrobas of maize will be consumed during this day.

With the bundles of firewood piled in one corner of the kitchen, and the water stored in jars, the women sit around the fire to nurse their children, spin wool, weave their pouches, and converse about matters of daily life.

In the course of the day there will be the sacrifice of the beef; the presentation of the "camarico" to the priest; the greeting of the albacero; the celebration of vespers with the vacaloca game; concluding with the meal given by the fiestero at midnight. On the following day there will be the Mass, a procession, the handing over of the banners to the new fiesteros, and the care given to the albacero.

/207/ XV

Scene between the Second Fiestero and Albacero

[805] The position of the sun indicates that it is nine o'clock in the morning. In the house of the albacero the muffled sounds of the bass drum and the melody of the flutes are heard.

While they play, the fiestero and his wife visit the albacero with a pot of stew /sancocho/, a bottle of aguardiente, a sky-rocket, and a candle. The fiestero hands over what he has [539] brought to the albacero, and his wife to the latter's wife. They sit around the fire. The dialogue is interesting:

/207 cont./

796 Albacero: The albacero is always behind the fiestero.
539 We shall make him dance.

Fiestero: We shall take chicha and have a good time.

The offers of chicha and aguardiente are repeated.

--Let us go to the slaughter of the little bull.

--And all of a sudden the bull would kill me, replies the albacero, cutting short the invitation of the fiestero. And he adds:

--You do a great deal in taking care of people; you seem to have more. I do not have anything.

--We are not just any family. We are Muse, replies the fiestero.

--What do you want from me that you do so much for me? Asks the albacero.

Meanwhile other men express their thoughts in sentimental and philosophical tones:

--This is our pueblo...We must talk...When we die, we shall not return.

--Because now that we are alive, and on our land, we must see each other often.

The old master of the house interrupts the conversation:

--It is well if you go with us. (Eviuha guechi pikin ustau.)

It is time to slaughter the beef. The fiesteros leave the house of the albacero. The musicians follow them.

XVI

Sacrifice of the Beef

231 Since the previous day the beef has remained in front of
796 the house tied to a post. Next to it are several piles of long, dry pieces of wood.

/208/ /Illustration appears here./

4:Bernal Villa--40 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/208/

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796 At about ten o'clock in the morning the special guests of the fiestero get ready to kill the beef. They are four. The

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[533] musicians intone the kula kui while other men begin to cut the long, dry pieces of wood into small fragments. Woodcutters, slaughterers, and musicians all begin their activities at once. The wood will serve to roast the maize griddlecakes.

[825] One of the slaughterers gathers the blood in a pan, while another one holds the head and tries to cover the eyes; he believes that if he does not do so, some other cow will attack him when he goes to catch it.

/208 cont./

231 796 192 After skinning it, they quarter it following a definite sequence: the lower part of the hind legs (chinda), the lower part of the front legs (kuse), the upper part of the hind legs (himbé), the upper part of the front legs (pala), the tail (mens), the flesh of the neck (chikichichi), the fat (sepo), upper intestine (chunchullo), lower intestine (meto), stomach (tuchi), /209/ trachea (pechita), lungs (mechto), heart (ús), liver [827] (mechi), the gall (muahi), pancreas (shape)... They are familiar with most of the organs and their names, but not with their specific physiology.

262 796 252 Some of the pieces of meat go directly into the pan of "mute," which is boiling and which the workers will eat for lunch; others, to the barbecue where they will get the smoke from the kitchen.

Inside the house, in the ñuhne wala, the women grind shelled maize on two metates to make maize griddlecakes. With maize flour and water they make a dough which various women shape with their hands into circular form. In a separate kitchen, two women and two men are busy roasting them. First they let them harden on a piece of broken earthenware and then complete the cooking in the embers of the hearth. An elderly man gathers those that are cooked into a bag. Another one occupies himself with singing religious songs and praying. The maize griddlecakes are used to take care of the albacero on the following day.

796 [462] [829] [273] This work is performed enthusiastically by the women.
--The days of the fiesta are for talking, says one woman.
--One can live through life only by getting drunk, says another.

4:Bernal Villa--42 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/209 cont./

XVII

"Camarico" for the Priest

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431 At four o'clock in the afternoon the fiestero and fiestera, accompanied by their mayordomos, the cabildo, the musicians, and other people, with the church standards in front and with a profusion of gunpowder, parade past the rectory. Each one bears a gift for the priest, called camarico, which consists of victuals and meat: green bananas, potatoes, eggs, meat, and salt. First the man presents his, and then his wife. This represents a testimonial to the priest for having come to celebrate the Mass for them. The mayordomos also present him with eggs.

In the house of the albacero flutes and drums resound and shouts go up, indicating that he is ready to receive the greeting of the fiestero.

XVIII

Extravagance and Protocol

796
431 It is five o'clock in the afternoon. In the house of the fiestero firecrackers resound, while in that of the albacero there is much excitement. /210/ Both have their own chirimías. The time for the greeting and the exchange of gifts has come.

The fiestero and his wife, preceded by the church banners and followed by many attendants, the indispensable melodies of the chirimías, and the bursting of firecrackers and skyrockets, have left their home, each with a plate covered with a brightly colored kerchief, on which they bear the gift for the albacero and his wife, respectively, consisting of a cake /bizcochuelo/, a bottle of aguardiente, one large candle of laurel wax and

/210 cont./

796 two small ones, a skyrocket, and a firecracker; in addition, an
431 assistant carries a pot of chicha. The procession moves slowly forward. The albacero and his wife, on the other hand, have also left their home, with their retinue of attendants, the shooting of firecrackers, and the strains of music, carrying with them the same gifts as those brought by the fiesteros: chicha, aguardiente, cake, firecrackers, skyrockets, and
[354] candles. An assistant carries a showy lamp, made of flexible rods in hemispherical shape, adorned with a white pellicle similar to paper, obtained from the cabuya (1), and flowers

1. Fourcroya andina.

of various colors; it has four reeds to hold the candles.

The albacero waits for the fiestero very close to his home.

At the moment of the meeting, the fiestero and his wife each take one of the church banners and they take candles, which in turn are also lighted by the albacero and his wife. They exchange them: the fiestero with the albacero, and
796 their wives with each other. Then they kneel, with the men
576 face to face and the women likewise. The fiestero presents
431 the ceremonial greeting:

--"My friend: we are meeting at this spot. I have come to see you. Accept this small cake, even though it is quite tasteless."

--"Here we are together at this spot," replies the albacero.

796 While they are saying these words, they touch each other's
431 left shoulder with the right hand and press it; the wives greet
[576] each other in the same manner; following this, the fiestera greets the albacero, and the fiestero greets the latter's wife. The same protocol is observed. Immediately afterwards they exchange the gifts, the husbands on the one hand, and the wives on the other. Everything is distributed among their respective attendants. Only the candles are retained.

/210 cont./

796 [533] Throughout all these actions, the music has not failed to sound, /211/ the ensemble of the albacero alternating with that of the fiestero. The tunes are joyous, the enthusiasm grows, and the bursts of firecrackers are frequent.

When everything has been consumed, the plates, kerchiefs, and pots are returned with mutual expressions of deep appreciation. The albacero invites the fiestero:

--"My brother: now let us go to my house. I have nothing to offer you, but what can we do."

--"Do not worry. I, too, am in the same situation as you."

They all remain in the house of the albacero until the ringing of the bells announces the hour of prayer. Very few attend, but the fiestero and albacero have an obligation to do so. The musicians go behind. The albacero sets in place the lamp which he exhibited at the greeting two hours earlier.

796 346 373 The lighting of the church is adequate. There are some 72 candles, of which those on the altar are from the fiestero and the remainder from the albacero. There are four hanging lamps of the type already described. On cross-pieces supported by vertical beams and placed so that one is close to the altar and another at the exit door, numerous candles are held in fresh clay, in the same manner as in the cornices of the walls.

796 533 The religious performances are accompanied by native music; monorhythmic and sad tunes alternate with joyous airs.

XIX

Torches and Vacaloca

796 532 While at the house of the fiestero the men kill the beef and make up the bundles of firewood and the women roast the maize cakes, in the house of the albacero the chirimía plays, chicha is drunk from gourd containers, the lamp is made, and

/211 cont./

796 532 the vacaloca /"crazy cow"/ is fashioned. From the angles of a rectangle made of four rods tied with lianas, flexible rods are attached in a semicircle; over these is hung the hide of a cow; the skull of a cow, with its horns, is attached to the front part; the facial bones are covered with newspaper on which the cow's eyes, nose, and mouth are drawn with charcoal; the horns are wrapped in cloth soaked in laurel wax; at the hind part, a bunch of defibered cabuya forms the tail. In addition, with the same waxed cloth, three /212/ torches and one large match in the shape of a cross are made, exclusively for illumination.

On leaving the prayer session, a strong, husky youth puts the crude vacaloca on his shoulders, the waxed horns and the torches previously seized by other youths are set afire, the music sounds, the firecrackers are picked up, and the game begins. The young men attempt to set the tail on fire, while the vacaloca tries to pursue them and butt them with its burning horns. The clamor and mad frenzy begin. Everyone runs, everyone defies the charges of the symbolic animal. Soon the vacaloca takes a false step and falls with a crash, causing general hilarity. The fiestero and albacero, the musicians, the participants in the game, and the others present begin to move toward the house of the albacero. There they stop the game when the fuel of the torches is exhausted and the players are overcome by fatigue.

796 Inside the dwelling, in the fluhne wala, the musicians in one corner, the women seated on the ground, the men on the pangos, their faces made golden by the rays from the torches, wait for the distribution of the calabashes of chicha and the liters of aguardiente with which the albacero is paying attention [273] to the fiestero. In the middle of the sala and next to one of the pangos there is a crude table, blackened by smoke, dirt, and time, with two lighted candles at the ends of it; three calabashes of chicha set on sugar-cane bagasse, two bottles of aguardiente next to the end gourds, and next to the center

/212 cont./

796 one a liter of aguardiente. The fiestero sits at the center of
273 the table, his wife sits on his right and the síndico on his left. The albacero approaches, takes the liter in his hands, measures out a cup, and offers it to the fiestero. The latter accepts it, drinks, and returns it. From the hands of the albacero he receives the cup and the liter. The proceeds in the same fashion with the calabash inside of which is the shachi léchukue. In the same manner he offers the other bottles and gourds to
[431] the wife of the fiestero and to the síndico. The distribution begins, for which the fiestero, fiestera, and the síndico call on three men to take charge of distributing the generous gift. The aguardiente is distributed by its owners themselves, who in each cup put small pieces of cake. The clamor increases in direct proportion to the consumption. Everyone drinks
796 alike: men, women, and children. This is the time for off-
522 color, rich, and abundant joking. The hour when fantasy
273 shines and takes wings. There is practically only one theme,
831 sex in all its forms and manifestations: desires, /213/ feats, wooing, pregnancy, childbirth, genitalia, and even sham coitus in public. Any allusion to sex causes hilarity; many aspects of life, attitudes, and work are associated with sex.

796 At midnight the bottles and calabashes are empty. The
[273] music has been continuous, the drunkenness has increased ... But it is not yet over. At the house of the fiestero they are awaited with another gift.

The fiestero and the albacero dance with each other's wives. When the dance is over, everyone goes out and vanishes in the darkness of the night on paths that cannot be seen, only divined. The sound of the bass drum indicates that the people, the nasa wala, are on their way to the house of the fiestero.

There they will find the pale yellowish light, the table next to a pango and toward the center of the fiuhne wala, with its two lighted candles, its calabashes of chicha, and its bottles of aguardiente. This time it is the albacero who will

/213 cont./

796 sit in the center, his wife on his right and the síndico on his
left. The same etiquette and the same courtesies will be ob-
[264] served. When the liquor has been drunk, there will be a meal
of cabbage and meat: large bowls for the albacero, his wife,
and the síndico. For the others it will be served on platters.
All of them will sip the broth, squeeze out the meat and
cabbage with their hands, and put it in their pouches.

796 Overcome by the fatigue induced by several sleepless
513 nights, by the chicha, and the food, they will sleep on the
ground. When dawn heralds the new day, the enormous sala,
the fiuhne wala, will present the sight of groups of people
sleeping in a promiscuity of sex and age.

XX

The Saint's Procession

796 Immediately after the Mass, with the presence of those
788 who attended it and those who did not, the procession begins,
the essence of the fiesta, according to Padre González. The
image of San Juan, adorned with many flowers, is carried on
a litter by the faithful, who frequently relieve one another,
go round the church with a great profusion of gunpowder, and
[533] finally set off the fireworks castle. The music plays incessant-
796 ly and includes the singing of religious canticles. When the
492 procession is over and the saint has been placed on the altar,
526 the men mount their horses, most of them bareback, and set
out to race madly /214/ across the plains of the locality.
They give free rein to their enthusiasm, allow their spirits
to expand, and whet their appetite for play. Groups of horse-
men in clamorous flight leave behind them their shouts of
"Viva San Juan." In everyday life action has been slow. Now
the movement and excitement seem to counteract the sluggish-
ness and heaviness of everyday life. The sweating animals

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526 /214 cont./
796 reach the houses, where they have a short rest while their
492 owners greedily drink the guarapo offered them by the occupants.

796 The fiesteros and albaceros, accompanied by a great
793 number of people, go once more to the priest. They bring him the names of the fiesteros for the following year. The priest reads aloud the names of the fiesteros, the albaceros, and the mayordomos. The pronunciation of each name is accompanied by the ringing of a bell which is entrusted to a fiscal; when the announcement is over, there is a general pealing of bells. Each fiestero is advised by 15 to 20 mayordomos.

796 Then, kneeling in front of the church door, the old fiesteros hand over the banners to the new ones. They form a procession, and upon ending it, in the same spot where the banners were exchanged, they hand them over to the síndico, who waves them in the air one by one and ends by seeming to [787] drive them into the ground. If by chance the banner wraps it- [763] self around its own staff, some misfortune will befall the new fiestero. As a rule it is an omen of death, which fills with great sadness the fiestero whose banner had this happen to it.

Now each fiestero goes home, bearing in his hands the banner of the saint.

XXI

Banquet for the Albacero

796 After the procession the fiestero goes to the house of the
574 albacero, where he receives attention with the above-mentioned calabashes of chicha and bottles of aguardiente. When this feast is over, the company moves to the house of the fiestero. In the center of the sala there stands next to the pango the table with two burning candles at the ends, the calabashes of chicha, and the liters of aguardiente. The albacero, síndico,

/214 cont./
796 and their respective wives do the honors of the table. With
574 the etiquette and courtesies already mentioned, the gift is
[576] presented to them and the corresponding distribution is made.
[431] /215/ The laborers and the fiesteros move from the sala
[576] to the kitchen and from there to the sala. "Guechi pikin ustau" (we are coming along), they say, upon entering the fiuhne wala. "Anjiha," reply those present.

The kitchen is full of prepared food, and the women are busy filling plates of various sizes; large ones, others medium-sized, and the smallest. The distributors are in charge of handing them out to the recipients. This time they will serve three different dishes:

[262] 1st, maize griddlecakes and meat; 2nd, stew made with bananas, potatoes, arracacha, and chopped meat; and 3rd, yuca, raw and cooked cabbage, and meat.

The albacero and wife and the síndico and spouse are congratulated with a bowlful of each of these three "courses." The mayordomos receive a smaller amount, and the rest of those present plates for everyday consumption.

Of these "courses," only the last one is distributed when there are many persons present. Everyone is equipped with a pouch. They sip the broth, squeeze out the solid food with their hands, and store it away in it. Drunkenness and fatigue permit little talk.

After eating, or rather, after having collected food, the
[535] music sounds. The fiestero and albacero dance with each other's wives. They carry lighted candles in their hands. The dance is slow, deliberate, halting. At the end, they all go to the house of the second fiestero to give him the church banners. He will repeat the same religious and social acts, with the same etiquette and the same courtesies.

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/215 cont./

XXII

A Bath for San Juan

796 At four o'clock in the morning on June 24, the men, women, and children are up in every household. In that of the fiestero the kitchen fire is burning, the food is being cooked, [541] and everyone is drinking and talking. Outside, in the darkness of the night, numerous lights are shooting upward, ending with a flash accompanied by an explosion: they are the skyrockets fired out of the huts. To each explosion are added the cries: San Juan! San Juan! San Juan!

796 On the previous day and in each of the houses, a jet of 515 water was arranged to serve as a shower. Now everyone bathes. This bath is accompanied by firecrackers and shouts. /216/ This is one of the few occasions when the native bathes. For, although it is true that in childhood baths are quite frequent, adults bathe only for the fiesta of San Juan, in the washing of the dead, or when they have fever.

796 The bath of San Juan has the purpose of preventing both 515 persons and the animals that belong to them from getting sores 751 (scabies). Nevertheless, one of those who awoke in the house of the fiestero and who did not bathe palliates his fear: "I did not bathe. I have no animals. It does not matter if I get scabies."

--"You do have some, even if only 'two animals.' Bathe," replies his neighbor in a taunting, jesting tone.

--"I will bathe, but not my entire body, just my ...only."

The dialogue continues, loud and merry.

796 After the bath they catch a chicken. They all answer its squawks in chorus: San Juan, San Juan, San Juan. They [264] kill it. At six o'clock in the morning they are eating chicken stew.

In the house of the fiestero the following dialogue between parents is overheard as they hear their son crying:

/216 cont./

796 Father: "I want to beat this child because he cries too much."

Mother: "Why should you beat your child? It is not his fault. It is the fault of your penis."

[431] At five o'clock in the morning the fiestero and his wife go to the house of the albacero with their "camarico": chicha, aguardiente, firecracker, skyrocket, candles, chicken, bananas, arracacha, yuca, meat, cumin seeds, and salt. At six o'clock they return.

[522] The musicians play their instruments and the people make jokes. One of them makes a taunting, jesting one referring to the activity of the previous night: "I am not going to mass, because I have no trousers. I have some, but they are stained." As the bells ring, the musicians and a few people go to mass.

XXIII

The Laborers' Day

796 When everything is over, the priest has left for Belalcázar,
465 the musicians with their swollen lips and aphonic throats have
574 gone home, and the people are gorged with chicha and aguardiente, the fiestero still has to pay attention to--to care for--his obliging laborers. /217/ /Illustration appears here./ They did not have the opportunity to parade to the house of the albacero or to vespers or in the procession. Not even to get drunk to the same degree as the guests. The fiestero is also grateful for their services. Now, in payment for it, he must take care of them. For this he has left part of the beef under the smoke of the hearth. They will have their trough of chicha, their bottles of aguardiente, their firecrackers. They will be served at the table where the albacero was attended to

/217 cont./

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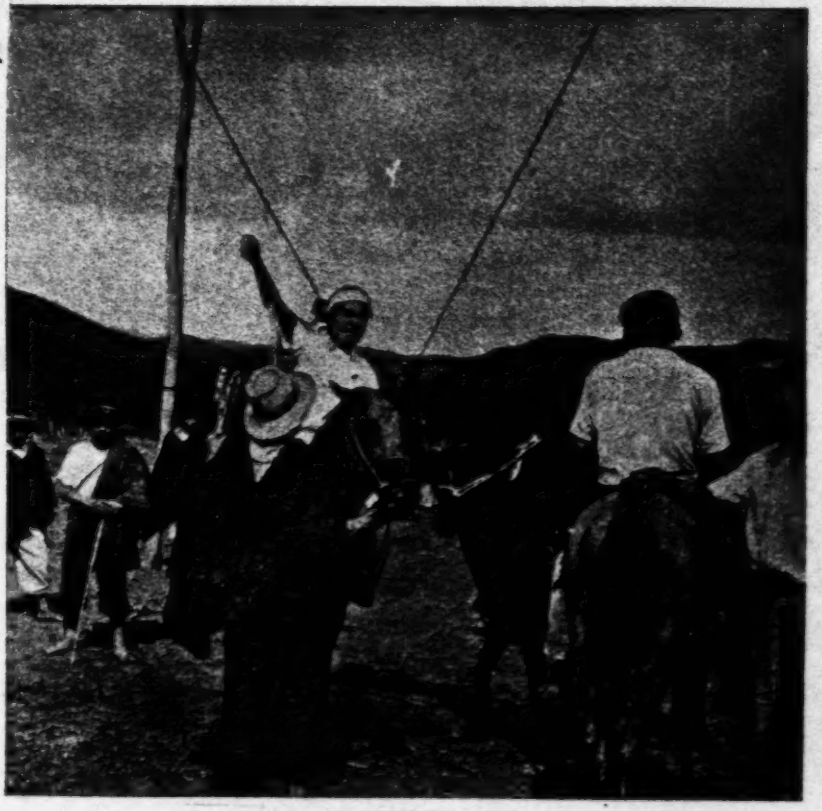

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574 and in the same fashion. Abundant food and drink will be the testimonial of his gratitude. They will also have the musicians and dance. They will wake up in the morning, like those at the fiesta, lying on the ground.

4:Bernal Villa--53 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

XXIV

The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[131] Tumbichukue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the paramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiyú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

●796 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road.
541 It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from
184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the
796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderun /person from
291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean,
177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue
301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces,
541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the [91] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the
541 roosters.

/218 cont./

●796 541 The cage is very similar to the lamp of the Calderun albacero, with the added detail that the rods are adorned with panela candy (taffy) and carry four small flags. One of the riders reaches the cage, and on the following year he must return it exactly as it was when he took it. /219/ The candy is shared among those present, and the little flags are taken by the friends of the man who seized the cage; they must contribute to the expense.

Then comes the race for the rooster. It is spectacular. All those present closely watch the course of the game. The riders race quickly from one end to the other. As they pass beneath the rooster, they raise their hand in order to grab it, but merely graze it. The frenzy of the riders, the clamor of the people, and the bursting of firecrackers grow. Soon there is a terrible squawk, followed by a sudden silence. Two riders seized the rooster at the same time and in their hands hold fragments still quivering with life. The following year they will have to contribute a live rooster.

An informant explains that the man who gets the cage corresponds to the fiestero, the rooster to the albacero, and the flags to the mayordomos.

What follows is in the sphere of bacchic gaiety.

A chirimía delights the audience.

XXV

The Fiesta and the Numbers

796 435 The fiesteros are very reticent about supplying information concerning the amount of their expenses. They merely say that they spend a great deal of money and among the things that they buy are arracacha, bananas, yuca, sugar cane, gunpowder, wax, salt, coca, and beeves.

4:Bernal Villa--55 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/219 cont./

●796 Nevertheless, here is the value of the expenses that a
435 fiestero provided, thanks to the suggestion made at the time by the priest who officiated at the religious ceremonies.

As a rule, they kill three beeves: one for being accepted for the fiesta, another for the cleaning of the church, and the third for the attentions shown to the albacero.

Articles purchased	Cost
1 bull	$40.00
1 heifer	35.00
1 female calf	12.00
20 arrobas of maize, at 60 centavos each	12.00
Sugar cane	2.50
2 pounds of gunpowder	7.00
/220/	
1 pound of candle wick	2.50
Bananas	2.50
Arracacha	7.50
1 arroba and a half of salt	7.50
2 pounds of anise	20.00
Fees for the priest	20.00
Total....	$168.50

To this must be added the purchase of coca for the laborers.

The fiesta is thus extremely costly for the Indians, who have no money, who do not produce to sell, and whose live-
[426] stock is exchanged, not for cash, but for goods. It is true that the mayordomos contribute one peso to pay the priest's fees and that the majority of the guests bring victuals to the fiestero; nevertheless, the fiestero is left with nothing but debts, which he will not pay off in less than three years.

4:Bernal Villa--56 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/220 cont./

XXVI

Religious Fiestas

●796 Among the Paez there are no secular collective celebrations. All are religious. They celebrate with pomp and grandeur: San Andrés, Semana Santa, San Juan, San Pedro and San Pablo, La Santa Cruz, El Día de Difuntos, La Inmaculada Concepción...

[178] The Lazarist missionary, David González, says that as
[179] far back as 1689 the fiestas were organized as they were found
[177] in 1905, that is to say, as they are today. Each pueblo was granted a patron saint and various other protectors. In spite of this, only San Juan Bautista and San Pedro and San Pablo, whose fiestas are celebrated when maize is eared /en macollaje/, the rains are heavier, and the winds are violent, the day of the dead /el día de difuntos/ with its offerings to the souls, the Inmaculada Concepción, when grain is abundant, and the Semana Santa (El Resucitado /The Resurrected/) were the fiestas and saints that aroused the most enthusiasm and sank the deepest roots in the souls of these natives.

771 The Paez, and especially those of Calderas, are religious
796 in externals, not in conviction; they are more concerned with
182 form than with substance. This is revealed in the religious fiestas of these natives. /221/ Few of them attend mass, and fewer yet pray at vespers. To the great majority of them, religious fiestas mean a squandering of gunpowder, lights, aguardiente, and chicha. An abundance of food. The pleasure of getting together. The joy of contact. The music, which assuages hardship, and the dancing, an exteriorization of feeling. It is the expansiveness that leads to gatherings, the sexual jokes that spring up among them without misgivings; it is the continuous drunkenness. It is the display of generosity, the exercises in co-operation and altruism.

796 The priest, as a punishment for failure to attend the Mass
793 on the part of the chief fiestero and albacero, refused to carry
719

4:Bernal Villa--57 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/221 cont./

793 out the procession. The latter, reeling from chicha and lack
796 of sleep, arrived at the end of the Mass and learned of the
798 decision of the priest, who in addition advised them to save the gunpowder for the procession on the following day. They left. And although they did not march around the church and did not bear on their shoulders the image of the saint, they fired all the firecrackers, the skyrockets, and the fireworks castle to the strains of their native music. The procession was carried out symbolically.

796 The women and the men are dark in complexion and in
142 apparel. At these celebrations it is not unusual to see them
291 dressed in bright colors and brightly colored beads.
301

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/245 cont./

*765 756 783 [113] 8. See: "Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, 1953.

[114] This type of cleansing has not been confirmed by any informant, curer or layman, young or old, male or female, from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, San Andrés, Calderas, Togoima, Avirama, or Mosoco.

342 ● 796 *756 [241] Conjuration of the new rancho. To protect their fields from the voracity of wild animals, they build a small rancho. Before occupying it, they perform the following conjuration. The curer blows remedies in the center of the rancho where the hearth will be. He digs a hole and buries shu and shulape. He makes a fire and casts fiundayuskei and bitopiskue into it. He gathers up all the ashes and throws them outside the rancho. He revives the fire again and roasts a green ear of maize, which is given to a dog to eat. If the dog does not die, it is a sign that there is no pest there and the owners can occupy it. In the opposite case they must abandon it. In Santa Rosa the Té eu eats the ear of maize.

This same ceremony is performed upon beginning a house. They give the dog roasted maize since it is not the season for green ears. Then they drink chicha and aguardiente.

*241 756 E huse uña (clearing-eat). The harvesting of the crops from new clearings must be initiated by the curer. The owner of the field provides coca, tobacco, and aguardiente and invites the curer. The entire family goes to the field.

The té eu prepares a calabash of remedies based on Chayuts, shugues, tayuskei, echiutse, ul fiñ, tatse. He sprinkles the clearing with this. He distributes as many bundles of remedies as there are persons present, for them to chew, to swallow the juice, and to rub their bodies with the remainder.

/320 cont./

231 439 propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with propositions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and 231 439 789 [782] fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of aguardiente and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multiplication. Likewise he blows chayuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.) on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when this requisite was not met the cow stopped halfway on the journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it sufficed to blow at the rope with chayuts to make her move again. How can this be explained? The persons relating the story repeatedly ask.

231 262 [796] [527] [281] [234] Occasions for the consumption of cattle are mingas, religious fiestas, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and baptismal "cuidos" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from 262 782 756 231 "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the precaution of calling the Tẽ eu. He orders them to take a small piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of contento (chayuts) on top of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose of which is to please him.

/321 cont./

231 The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption [796] at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1). [533]

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for 492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for 484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles, [249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride [482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy [562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or [754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey [789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs, [422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers [233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to [232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

/328 cont./

389 43 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.

388 [373] [796] The Indians go on using it to make candles for household consumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

/329/

Mingas

476 461 [464] The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 554 [231] Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 241 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

/350 cont./

252 262 244 [796] Cabbages are cultivated in the gardens and are almost never lacking throughout the year; they are eaten daily, chopped into the dish of the day. At religious fiestas it is customary to cook the cabbages "on the bough," that is to say, with their respective stalks, and serve them as a special dish. White cabbage is seldom cultivated and thus its consumption is almost null. The few heads grown in the cold part of San Andrés are intended for sale.

252 262 Plantains are eaten preferably in sancocho, and their consumption is intensive in the temperate climate. They are also eaten roasted, in which case they are preferred with meat or entrails. Potatoes, especially in Mosoco, are eaten with gravy, a favorite dish for entertaining "white" or civilized visitors. This dish is prepared with water, milk, eggs, onions, and meat. The potatoes are peeled and washed well. In Calderas they are also eaten in this fashion, but frijoles are added to them as well.

In general wheat is cultivated to be milled and sold. Sometimes it is eaten in griddlecakes, in which case the dough is prepared with water and panela. They also make soup with wheat flour, without removing the bran, with cabbages, frijoles, and salt.

Sweet potatoes are consumed in small quantities. They are washed, cooked, and eaten without salt and with peppers. They prepare peppers by cooking them in a pot (a bag, said the informant) and adding onions, coriander, and salt. This condiment thickens and keeps for about a month.

Chachafruto is cooked with frijoles or in the soup, but it is also eaten by itself and skinned. It is very tasty.

273 [249] /351/ Sugar cane serves solely for extracting the juice and fermenting it. With the guarapo, thirst is quenched, mingas are held, "courtesies" are shown, religious fiestas and social life in general are carried on. From cane juice, duly fermented, alcoholic beverages are also extracted. They make chicha from maize, but this is not prevalent.

Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left.

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings.

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred.

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers,
[476] just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same
[855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood.
[627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured,
[623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may
[892] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas[1] are organized more readily among brothers, who
[476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually
[651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor
[796] to drink and eat together.

1/ [i.e., meetings for collective work--analyst]